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Senator Chandler on Negro Disfranchisement

A letter from Senator CHANDLER of New Hampshire on the disfranchisement of negro citizens by Southern States is printed elsewhere in this paper.

It will be found to be a discussion of the subject so thoroughly temperate that it justifies his declaration that all personal pitterness aroused by the question has now passed away in him. Nor is he ready to jump to any conclusion regarding methods of dealing with it by legislation, but rather appeals to both North and South to treat the question with "candor, fairness and mutual forbearance.

The question is of the gravest national importance. Forty Representatives in Congress and forty Presidential Electors are now based on the colored population. If, then, the Southern States are allowed to retain the power of these votes, though they disfranchise the negroes, or a great part of them, the South has an unfair advantage which is sure to make trouble.

We invite attention to the calm discussion of the subject by Senator CHANDLER.

Very Near to Treason.

Among the ten thousand words of Mr BETAN's painfully wrought essay on the theme that "republics can have no subjects," these only are deserving of serious consideration:

"If sheeted I shall convene Congress in extraordinar; session as soon as I am inaugurated, and recommend ediate declaration of the nation's purpose, first to establish a stable form of government in the Philit pine Islands, just as we are now establishing a stable form of government in the Island of Cuba; second, give independence to the Filipinos, just as we have mised to give independence to the Cubans; third so protect the Filipinos from outside interference while her work out their destiny, just as we have protected the republics of Central and South America, and are by the Monroe Doctrine, pledged to protect Cuba."

This is definite enough as a statement of intentions and a pledge of action in case Mr. BRYAN is elected President. He will convene Congress in extraordinary session and use all the power that a President can exert to induce Congress to withdraw the flag of the United States from the Philippine Islands.

When Mr. BRYAN pronounced these words, did it occur to him that he might be giving at that very moment the signal for the death of hundreds or thousands of our soldiers in the Philippines?

The United States Government is engaged in stamping out the embers of rebellion in Luzon; and our men there are doing their duty under the flag.

The insurrection in Luzon has found its mainstay in the encouragement to continued resistance which the utterances of certain American citizens here at home have NALDO'S sympathizers have been persons without official responsibility, like ATKIN son and Garrison and Winslow. A few like Pettigrew, hold Federal office without exerting much influence on American opinion. But the utterances of even these irresponsibles and lightweights have served as LAWTON testified just before his own death, to speed the bullets that have sent our officers and privates to the grave.

And now the man who will be President of the United States if the Democracy wins this election sends to the insurgent his message of hope and stimulus.

"Keep up your fight," he says to Agur-NALDO'S Tagals. "Keep on shooting down the men who wear the United States uni form. If I am elected you will have won."

In the maze of his theoretical argumentation and in the confusion of his rhetorical detail, did WILLIAM J. BRYAN really understand how near he was to treason?

Did he foresee the one direct, practical, murderous effect of his promise to the rebels in arms against the United States Government and flag?

On account of the heat, it was announced recently, Mr. Justice Mathew of the Court of Queen's Bench, or as it is called now, the Queen's Bench Division of the English High Court of Justice, had removed his wig in court, and had tried a case without his professional head covering. It will be remembered, too, that within a short time straw and even heads of houses have discarded the time-honored top hats, and have gone to their offices with head coverings made of straw, "plaited and sewn in the form of and made to resemble hats."

These recent happenings might seem to palladia of his country's liberties.

But there is still hope for the British Constitution, shaken though it may have been by two such iconoclastic events happening so close together. Thirty-two years ago is-Mr. Justice WILDE and several barristers appeared in court without their wigs. and for the same reason: the weather was hot. Yet the Queen reigns and the Govern- | year period. ment of Great Britain still lives. As the Government is stronger now than it was then, by thirty-two years, it is possible that it may survive the present double shock.

As to the validity of any act or decision of the court made while Mr. Justice MATHEW sat with unwigged head, we cannot speak. Undoubtedly the House of Lords, as court upon the work of the de-wigged court. Its decision may be momentous in its consequences.

The wig, as worn in Great Britain by Judges, barristers and advocates, and the Speaker of the House of Commons, is one of those relics of past customs which the Briton is so slow to destroy. The same affection for old customs simply because they are old is what makes England and its neighbors so fascinating for Americans. With us, the fact that a thing is old is all too often a reason for abolishing it or destroying it. Not so in England; if an old thing is | portunities for fraud, but for the fact that in the way, if there is a demand for in Prince Edward Island a voter's qualifiits removal, very well; it may go. So cation may now be judicially considered

Northumberland House went, to make when the scrutiny is made, just as in Cnway for an avenue and great new hotels; so the old inns of London have gone, with churches and monuments of old time. But if an old thing harms no one, it is preserved. So the Judges wear wigs, as do the barristers; so does the First Commoner in England, the Speaker, So each year the vaults under the Houses of Parliament are searched, lest GUY FAWKES have secreted himself there to blow up the Estates of the Realm; and so hundreds of harmless and innocent old customs are preserved for ribald folk to deride and envy.

The gown worn by Judge, barrister and Speaker is a relic of the time when the law was administered by clerics, when the robe was a mark of dignity and honor; the wig is said to be a modification of the coif or cap with flowing pendant, worn by legal dignitaries some centuries ago. It is derived more directly from the wigs of the sixteenth century, and is in fact a

peruke, not an ordinary wig. That the wig is really only an incident of British justice is shown by the fact that Mr. Justice WILDE in 1868 and Mr. Justice MATHEW in this year sat without it, and further, that though the Justices of the various courts in the British colonies sit in robes, they have not worn wigs. Wigs and gowns disappeared from the American colonies promptly after the Revolution. Gowns have reappeared in some courts, both Federal and State, but the judicial wig for nearly a century has not found in America head on which it rested comfortably.

Mr. Towne's Personal Sacrifice.

Instead of obscuring the silver issue in this campaign, the withdrawal of Mr. Towne in favor of Mr. Stevenson makes that issue all the more conspicuous.

For Mr. Townz represents, with a sincerity certainly equal to either Mr. BRYAN'S or Mr. STEVENSON's, and with an intellectual force and persistency much superior to STEVENSON'S and on a par with BRYAN'S, the demand for the free coinage of silver at the ratio of sixteen to one. No man who knows his fidelity to conviction believes that Mr. Towns would withdraw his name from the Populist ticket if he thought the cause of free silver was to be side-tracked, or that "BRYAN and STEVENSON" meant less distinctly than "BRYAN and TOWNE" the purpose to effect, if possible, the degradation of the American dollar. If Mr Towne thought that, he would stick for the sake of the principle, no matter what political inconvenience might result to the head of the ticket.

His withdrawal signifies that this earnest and honest advocate of a destructive policy knows that the cause of repudiation and the other special tenets of Populistic faith are as safe in STEVENSON's hands as they would be in his own. His letter to the Committee on Notification is a certificate of the perfect Populism of both BRYAN and STEVENSON

Towne is off the ticket, but free silver is not off.

How They Will Vote in Canada. Now that the Canadians, like ourselves, are preparing for a general election, it becomes a matter of interest to compare the conditions under which the franchise will be exercised in the two countries.

Under our Federal Constitution, the right of voting for members of the House of Representatives is conferred upon those per sons in each State who, by the State Constitution and laws thereof, are qualified to vote for members of the lower or popular branch of the State Legislature. Our Constitution does not fix the qualfications for voting for Presidential Electors: indeed, Presidential Electors need not be directly chosen by the people at all. According to our Federal organic law, each State is to "appoint" the number of Presidential Electors to which it it entitled, and this power of appointment was long exercised by State Legislatures. As lately as 1824, the Electors were chosen by the Legislatures in eight States. Four years later, the power was exercised by the Legislatures in only three States, Delaware, New York and South Carolina: but South Carolina continued to exercise it down to and including 1860.

The Canadians, of course, when they formed their Constitution were not interested in our mode of choosing Presidentia Electors, because in the Dominion there is no analogue to the President of the United States, the powers of that officer being shared by a Governor General representing the British Crown, and a Prime Minister representing the majority in the Dominion House of Commons. They were interested, however, in our mode of choosing members of the House of Representatives, and Sir John MacDonald seems to have hesitated between our method and that prevailing in the United Kingdom, where not only are the conditions of the franchise in England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland defined by Parliament, but they are enforced, in the matter of registration, by imperial officials. Such hesitation may be presumed, because the Dominion Constitution, embodied in the British North America hats have appeared in London: that clerks | act. does not immutably settle the matter. but leaves the franchise to be regulated by the Dominion Parliament, so far as the elec tion of members of the House of Common

In pursuance of the power thus given, the Ottawa Parliament at one time passed a indicate that the Briton was losing his rev- Dominion Franchise act, one result of which erence for law and order, the Queen and all was the expenditure of \$150,000 for the the royal family, Magna Charta and all other | preparation of Federal lists of voters once every four years. On the theory that this outlay might be avoided by the use of the provincial lists, the Dominion Franchise act was repealed, but, according to the Mail and Empire of Toronto, the expected econ last month-nearly a generation ago, that omy has not been attained, for now the provincial lists have to be purchased and reprinted at Ottawa, and the estimated cost is \$40,000 per annum, or \$160,000 in a four-

The Dominion Franchise act having been repealed, a great variety of franchises will prevail in the different provinces at the next general election. We are accustomed to such a lack of uniformity in the United States, our Federal Constitution making no attempt to control the States in this particular, except so far as the latest amendments of last resort, will be called upon to decide forbid any State to disqualify a citizen for voting on the score of race, color or pre vious condition of servitude. In British Columbia, Manitoba and Prince Edward Island manhood suffrage obtains. In Ontario there is a mixed system, but the one-manone-vote principle is enforced. In Quebec there are property and income franchises: moreover, an elector can vote in a multi plicity of constituencies. In Prince Edward Island, curiously enough, there is no voters' list, but voters register and vote at the same time at the polling booths. Such a state of things would obviously offer op-

tario the qualification is considered when

the list is prepared. It seems reasonable enough that every Province should be left to decide for itself whether it desires a property qualification of the franchise. At all events, such a state of things obtains under our Constitution. On the other hand, however, it is natural that wherever in the Dominion of Canada the one-man-one-vote principle prevails a protest should be raised against the system of plural voting which survives in the Province of Quebec.

The Labor Question in Hawaii.

The sugar planters of the Territory of Hawaii need hands for their cane fields and are planning to obtain negro labor from our Southern States. Their main reliance, for years, has been the Japanese, of whom there are about 23,000 in the islands. Only a small part of the 19,000 Chinese immigrants have been employed on the sugar plantations. They have been engaged in general agriculture and particularly in tilling the rice fields and in work about the towns. These Asiatic races number a third of the population and, as further immigration from China and Japan has been prohibited, the labor problem has again become important.

ossibilities of procuring white labor. The result was satisfactory and the labor problem was believed to be solved. It was found that the climate of the Azores is almost identical with that of the Hawaiian Islands and that scores of thousands of the Portuguese inhabitants work in the fields. Eleven thousand of them were brought, under contract, to the Hawaiian plantations. They rendered efficient service and proved themselves adapted for hard labor under tropical conditions. But it happens that they are thrifty and ambitious. As their savings ncreased they left the cane fields and now they are teamsters, mechanics, overseers, merchants and landowners. White labor was a failure because it could not be kept down to cane raising.

There is no harder farm work than sugarcane growing. From planting to grinding t requires the labor of strong men under a blazing sun. Any one who has seen the negroes cutting cane on the big plantations near New Orleans knows how well they work. There are no better sugar hands anywhere than those on the Louisiana plantations. Cuba, the largest source of cane sugar in the world, would be glad to have equally efficient labor. It is among these Louisiana sugar hands that a few Hawaiian planters are now engaging laborers; and they say if this first experiment succeeds, many thousands of Southern negroes will be a welcome addition to the labor supply of our island territory in the Pacific.

There is plenty of work for our negro citizens at home. But if any of the most industrious among them wish to emigrate, no fairer land than the Hawaiian Territory can be found. It is a paradise compared with any part of tropical Africa; and how can it help being healthful with the northeast winds permeating every part of it, and temperature that is ten degrees cooler than that of any other land in the same latitude?

Bryan's Direful Threat.

This threat made by BRYAN in his notification speech will not tend to commend the 16-to-1 candidate to people who have a not unnatural desire to save their property from destruction:

"If elected, I shall convene Congress in extraordinary session as soon as I am inaugurated," &c. election of BRYAN, as Gen. PALMER and as all sagacious men of business foresee very clearly, would be a disastrous commercial and financial panic. That business convulsion, with its consequences, would continue during the coming winter. Business would be brought to a stand-still and enter-

prise would cease. That condition of depression BRYAN ledges himself to aggravate if he is elected. As soon as he is inaugurated on the 4th of March, at the opening of spring, he will call his Bryanite Congress into "extraordinary session." Of course, such a prospect would prevent any possibility of recovery before the assembling of the session, and while it was in progress the dread of what it might do would increase and prolong

the business uncertainty and confusion. Then, in December, would follow the regular session of Congress, which would set about to rip up the legislative settlement that had brought stability, prosperity and security to business.

First on the programme, as laid down in Bryan's Kansas City platform, is "the immediate restoration of the free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1, without waiting for the aid or consent of any other nation.

Second, is the repeal of "the Currency bill enacted at the last session of Congress," denounced in the platform as "a scheme for fastening upon the taxpayers a perpetual and growing debt."

Third, is the repeal of "the Dingley Tariff law," denounced by the Bryanite platform. Fourth, "government by injunction" would be attacked.

These are a few of the revolutionary measures which the Bryanite Congress would bring forth. Meantime how would fare the people who are now prospering under the stability secured by the policy and the measures which BRYAN would up-

And he threatens to begin the work of devastation as soon as ever he is inaugu-

The Hon. CARTER HARRISON, Imperator of the Cook County Marching Club, Jumped up or the tripod at a Democratic meeting in Indian apolis Wednesday night and told the future I am the seventh son of a seventh daughter. e said: and as one undivided forty-ninth he predicted BRYAN's election. Mr. HARRISON IS a gifted and beautiful young man with a beautiful and gifted brown Fedora hat; and he ought to be chairman of the Democratic Committee on Bluff.

With the paramount issue aboard, Mr. BRYAN will find some difficulty in trimming his boat.

Certain citizens of Ohio have waited upo HOPEFUL JIM JONES and assured him that if the Democratic National Committee would establish "branch headquarters" at Columbus. Ohio would be Democratic. As Mr. Jones has already carried all the States by interview and bulletin, the appeal of the Ohioans must have seemed superfluous to him.

At last the Hon. DAVID BENNETT HILL has donned the philosopher's robe. He professes his willingness to "wait until the clouds roll by." He is prepared to be out in the cold and the wet for a good while. Considering his eagerness and his sacrifices the Great Neglected of Wolfert's Roost has reason to complain. He is painfully unparamount in the New York Democracy at present.

THE CHINESE SITUATION.

The capture of Yang-tsun followed quickly on the defeat of the Chinese at Pei-tsang or Sunday. Evidently no opportunity was given them to rally, but they were pushed at the point of the sword, and the following day the allies were in possession of Yang-tsun. They are now in a position to decide whether the next movement on Pekin will be by the railway ine or the high road by way of Tung-chau to the eastward of it. From the fact that the American contingent had as many as sixty casualties, there must have been some re-sistance on the part of the Chinese at Yangtsun, but the details must soon come to hand Meantime the report that a Chinese force was

collecting south of Tientsin is revived. As to the political situation, it seems to be ecoming more involved than ever, while the reactionary faction is apparently in absolute control at Pekin. There appears no longer any reason to doubt the truth of the report that two of the progressive members of the Tsung-li-Yamen have been decapitated for heir supposed pro-foreign tendencies, which of itself makes it unlikely that appeals addressed to those who decreed it will find then amenable to any form of reasoning except that of force. The difficulty of the actual situation might be solved were the various egations in free intercommunication, and at least one or two of the members of the diplomatic corps in unrestricted correspondence with their Governments. If the men in control of affairs at Pekin were wise they would see the advantage of conceding this Years ago, the sugar planters studied the privilege. The trouble is that they trust no one, and so are working their own undoing and that of their country.

The rumors of discords among the Powers thich are at present acting together in China have not been authoritatively contradicted by any of their Governments, and they have been only mildly deprecated in reputedly semi-official organs, all which tends to make them credible. Already there are many symptoms that the present concord among the Powers will not survive much beyond the reief of the legations. The British pretensions a species of exclusive hegemony of the Yangtse Valley is viewed with increasing jealousy by more than one other of the European Powers, and by none more than France, which on account of the concessions for railways into the provinces south of the Si-klang and into Yunnan and Sze-chuen from the French Indohinese possessions, claims a right equally with England to exercise a miltary surveillance over the Yangtse River. The fact is that despite of the protestations of certain of the European Powers of their territorial disinterestedness, partition is in the air, unless some of the Power resolutely opposed to it can gain the confidence of the Chinese and by supporting them morally and materially during the negotiations that will follow the relief of the legations or the war that some foresee, enable them to preserve their territorial integrity and relatively a large meas ure of national and international political inde-

IN SOUTH AFRICA.

The British force captured by Gen. Delarey Elands River was about three hundred strong and composed of men of the Australian The compulsory withdrawal of the force at Rustenburg to Pretoria, instead of allowing it o go to the rescue of Col. Hoare, reveals the weakness of the British position and the difficulties surrounding the operations in the Transvaal. Gen. Buller has at length started north toward the Delagoa Bay railway line from his railway base above Volksrust. He taking the road by Amesfoort toward Ermeloo. which should bring him somewhere on the left of Gen. Botha's position facing Gen. French in the neighborhood of Machadodorp. The chief interest now is in the fate of Gen. De Wet, who by last accounts was already fighting with Gen. Methuen north of the Vaal near Venterskroon with Gen. Kitchener crossing the Vaal with avairy and mounted infantry in his rear.

Yes. Behold!

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SUN-Sir: Read this hifalutin passage from Bryan's speech for-

Behold a republic resting securely upon the founda tion stones quarried by Revolutionary patriots from the mountain of eternal truth, a republic applying in practice and proclaiming to the world the self-eviden position that all men are created equal; that they are endowed with inalienable rights; that Govern ents are instituted among men to secure these rights and that Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. Behold a republic in which civil and religious liberty stimulates all to earnest endeavors and in which the law restrain every hand uplifted for a neighbor's injury-a repub lic in which every citizen is a sovereign, but in which no one cares to wear a crown.

Read this and then look at what Bryan. through his party, has done in North Carolina, in Louisiana and in other Southern States! NEW YORK, Aug. 9.

From the Washington Evening Star.

"The Dead Sea, which for thousands of years has been a forsaken solitude in the midst of a desert, on whose waves no rudder has been seen for centuries," says United States Consul Winter at Annaberg in a recent despatch to the State Department. "Is to have a line of motor boats in the future. Owing to the continued increase in traffic and the influx of tourists, a shorter route is to be found between Jerusalem and Kerak, the ancient capital of the land of Moab.

"The first little steamer, built at one of the Hamburg docks, is about 100 feet long, and has already begun the voyage to Palestine. An order has been already given for the building of a second steamer. The one already built and on the way is named Prodromos (that is, forerunner), and will carry thirty-four persons, together with freight of all kinds. The promoters of this new enterprise are the innates of a Greek cloister in Jerusalem. The management of the line is entirely in German hands.

"The trade of Kerak with the desert is to-day."

The trade of Kerak with the desert is to-day "The trade of Kerak with the desert is to-day of considerable importance. It is the main own of any commercial standing east of the ordan and the Dead Sea. Its population posists of about 1,800 Christians and 6,000 losiems. The merchants of Hebron are among cashief frequenties of the markets of Kerak." the chief frequenters of the markets of Kerak

The Difficult State Department Cipher.

From the Boston Evening Transcript. It would probably astonish many good citizens who have been reading the discussions of the genuineness of the cipher despatch received about a fortnight age from Pekin, purporting to have come from Minister Conger, to know that so clever and alert-minded man as Secretary Hay has never mastered the cipher in use by the Department of State. On the other hand, his son Adelbert, who succeeded the redoubtable Macrum as Consul at Pretoria, can handle it with ease. Ambassador White, in Germany, uses the cipher freely; as far as known Ambassador Choate, in England, has never learned the art.

And so it goes. Probably very few of our diplomatic representatives can use the cipher themselves. As a rule, they have some minor functionary at each legation who has mastered the code, but in at least one case the cipher work is all done by an outside hireling who has no direct connection with the Federal service. This state of things does not nece sarily argue neglect or laziness on the part of the Ambassadors and Ministers concerned, or of the at taches of higher rank nor is it an inevitable fruit of the frequent changes of personnel in our foreign To a large extent it is merely a question of peculiar mental adaptation differentiated in individuals, and involves the same principle which is illustrated in one man's talent for acquiring a foreign language in a month or the skill of another in mathe natical calculations almost without study.

Sherlock Holmes. Jr.

From the Chicago Times-Heraid. "My necktle is disarranged " Sherlock Holmes, Jr.

His companion looked at him and said 'How do you know? You haven't felt of it and there is no mirror here that you could have looked into. Sometimes, Mr. Holmes, I am almost forced, in spite of your declarations that you do these wonder ful things by reasonable, human processes, to believe hat you must be gifted with second sight. Now what has convinced you that your necktie is disa

ranged?" "I noticed a man look at my tie just now and the feel of his own," the great detective answered. "Wonderful! Wonderful! Only your tie

THE NEW NULLIPICATION.

South-Its Consequences.

Senator Chandler on Disfranchisement at

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SUN-Sir: The North Carolina election certainly suggests the reasonable inquiry whether there exists in the pending Presidential and Congress canvass what may be called the Southern or negro question American politics, revived not willingly by the North but deliberately and defiantly by the Southern Democrats. The facts are that in North Carolina, with a Constitutional amendment under submission to a popular vote, the Democrats have resorted to mob violence, Red-Shirt terrorism, and have thereby broken up Republican and Populist meetings, suppressed free speech, intimidated voters, and by these means have presumably and in fact obained a majority for the amendment which could not otherwise have been secured. In other words, by violence forbidden by fundamental American principles they have changed he result of a popular election in a great State of this Union; and it is to be presumed that they will repeat their work in the November election: that is, the State of North Carolina which would freely choose McKinley Presidential Electors, a Republican United States Senator and several Republican Congressmen, will be made solidly Democratic, Mr. McKinley's lection possibly endangered and the House of Representatives possibly made Democratio instead of Republican—all by unconstitutional violence in one State of the Union. Is the North to submit to such a condition of affairs? Who is reopening the Southern question? What is Northern duty?

In 1894 the national election laws were repealed by a Democratic Congress. The minor ity of the Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections, Senators Hoar, Mitchell, Higgins and myself, deemed the occasion a proper one for discussing and attempting to justify the reconstruction measures of 1867 and the passage and maintenance of national election laws. Our full and carefully drawn report is No. 113 of the Fifty-third Congress, Second Session, dated Jan. 11, 1894. On the first page there is allusion to the attempt made in 1890 to strengthen the election laws by what was known as the Lodge bill—a force bill, opprobriously so called—which had passed the House and failed to pass the Senate. Our report says in Mr. Hoar's language:

It is not likely that this particular measure will ever be revived. The control of national legislation in this country will be for some time beyond the reach of the Republican party, and we believe that it is the desire of a majority of the people that the experir should be fully tried whether existing laws and an improving public sentiment will not cure the evils complained of; so that it is not probable that any legis ation having the same object will be proposed again for many years to come, or that it will ever be pr posed unless experience shall satisfy the people of and with substantial unanimity, that the existing instrumentalities for securing fair elections have

By the sentiment thus expressed Norther Senators and Representatives have generally been governed since 1894; although we did not prevail upon our Democratic associates not to repeal the election laws then existing. They were inexorably wiped off the statute book. Nevertheless we practically abandoned the issue of the enforcement by national power of the Fifteenth Amendment. No word in Congress uttered by Mr. Hoar or myself during the six years has been calculated to arouse sectional controversy. We have been sometimes reproached by Southern Republicans and colored citizens for our forbearance; but we have refrained, wisely as we have thought; and the country has patiently tried the experiment whether an improving public sentiment would not cure the evils complained of.

But now so it is that the Southern Democrats, not satisfied with Northern silence conce the horrible lynchings of black men in recen years, and Northern acquiescence in the suppression in fact although not in form of the right of the colored people to the suffrage under the Fifteenth Amendment, are proceeding to nullify that amendment in form as well as in fact by inserting new clauses in their State Constitutions taking the ballot from the black man-and furthermore, not being able to adopt such clauses through fair elections, they are carrying their adoption by mob violence by destroying free speech and by the intimidation of legal voters. Must the North take no action in view of this new Southern nullification?

we are willing to submit to such nullification we cannot satisfy our conservatism or our cowardice, whichever it may be, by merely taking no notice of the evils complained of We must take an active part in the nullification by enacting the next law apportioning Representatives in Congress in the form of approval

There are now forty Representatives in Cor gress and forty Electoral votes based upon the colored population. If against these loaded Southern dice we not only elect McKinley, s we shall do, but also elect a Republica House of Representatives, which against such odds we may not do: we must pass an apportionment bill based upon the new census of 1900. Indeed, it is the duty of the present Congress. Republican in both branches, to pass such a bill in the coming winter. What shall we do as to Representatives to be based upon the colored population, when the colored male are not allowed to vote, are disfranchised not only in fact but by open, public, nullifying

clauses in State Constitutions? The colored population of the Union will be not far from 10,000,000. If we advance the number necessary for each Representative from 170,000 to 200,000, there will be fifty Representatives based upon the black citizens. Shall we deliberately, by new and express law of Congress, assign to the South these fifty Representatives and also fifty Presidential Electors. and keep on trying to win national elections against a solid South armed with these fifty Representatives and Electors allotted to the newly subjugated race?

Reluctant as I am to reopen old sores and

to revive sectional issues, I am unable to see how the North can avoid taking notice of the new nullification now openly in power in Louisiana and North Carolina. We may perhaps ignore the actual suppression of colored suffrage in Mississippi and South Carolina and some other States. Can we ignore its formal suppression by State Constitutions in Louisiana and North Carolina and other States to follow. and sign and seal an acknowledgment of our perfidy and degradation by passing laws recognizing and approving those State Constitutions' We must do something. It is difficult to see what we ought to do. Much is said in favor of reducing the representation in Congress under the Fourteenth Amendment. That we can do where the voters in a State are reduced in number by a cause applicable to whites and blacks alike. But where the reduction is not at all of white votes but is of black votes only the Fourteenth Amendment does not apply The Fifteenth Amendment forbids that kind of a reduction. It says color discriminations shall not exist and Congress is authorized to enforce the prohibition. It cannot acquiesce in the crime and seek for a partial compensation by reducing representation under the Fourteenth Amendment, which is obsolete in such

The Mississippi amendment is not so object tionable on its face as those of Louisiana and North Carolina. It requires of every voter that he shall be able to give a reasonable interpretation of any clause in the State Constitution which may be read to him. The wrong in this age is that the election officers decide what is a have lost faith in the party leaders as he has reasonable interpretation and they reject the black man's opinion and accept the white's The law is enforced with a wicked eye and an evil hand; but it is difficult to prove this, and how national law can reach the Mississippi suppression of the black vote it has not bee easy to see; so national power has not been invoked. The case in South Carolina is similar. But in Louisiana and North Carolina the Democratic nullifiers have become bolder. They prescribe intelligence, that is, the ability to read and write, as a qualification for voting,

and then proceed to say that the requires shall not be applied to any white voters, de scribing them as the voters of 1867, when only whites voted, and to their descendants. The violation of the Fifteenth Amendment is open, bold, palpable. It says exactly in effect: Males above twenty-one who cannot read and write and are black shall not vote; whites who cannot read and write may vote. Every upright court and every honest lawyer will hold that such a clause in a State Constitution is

unconstitutional and absolutely void. Here is exposed the grievous and intolerable wrong. What shall be done about it? If we seek by authority of the Fourteenth Amendment to ascertain the extent to which in any States the votes are reduced by the reading and writing qualification, in order that we may correspondingly reduce the number Representatives in Congress, we at once find that the reduction of the votes at the South is wholly and purposely one of black votes in defiance of the Fifteenth Amendment Shall we condone and ratify this great crime by reducing representation under the Fourteenth Amendment? We have no right thus to abandon the Fifteenth Amendment and become a party to its nullification. We are confronted by an imperative duty, the enforcement of the Fifteenth Amendment by act of Congress. Shall we perform the duty or shall we shrink from it like cowards? If we do, retribution will some time reach both sections alike.

But many Republicans say that the effectua enforcement of the Fifteenth Amendment cannot be accomplished and that it is of no use to make the effort to bring all the negroes safely to the polls—to secure a free ballot and an honest count for black men. These Republicans say they will not try to do the impossible thing. Yet it is impossible thus to refrain and also forever to make political contest with the solid South and its fifty extra Repro sentatives and Electors based upon the colore people. What then will these Republicans do?

The South has not brought forward a new amendment to the United States Constitu taking away colored suffrage and providing for a reduction of representation, in other words, the lawful repeal of the Fifteenth Amendapplicable. Shall the Fourteenth Amendment to do this? There way of this plan:

The meritorious objection is that we shall be reducing ten millions of colored citizen from a state of political equality to the con dition of a subject race. Is this wise? Do revolutions ever go backward in this manner? Would not the black outcries for Northern protection against the inevitable oppression o follow national abandonment of the Fifteenth Amendment embroil the country more than any reasonable attempt to enforce the Fifteenth Amendment?

2. The South will not consent, although her Democrats by fundamental law suppres the colored vote, to give up the representation based upon the colored population. I asked Senator Money when he avowed the purpose of suppressing the colored votes, why he did not offer to consent to a corresponding reduction of representation. He had no real answer to give. The South will not agree to such change and without the votes of the Southern States we cannot amend the Constitution.

The problem I have stated in this letter I cannot solve, even satisfactorily to myself. The country is in a cul-de-sac and cannot directly get out, or turn about. I have no longer any personal bitterness in connection with this uestion. The war for secession and slavery s a third of a century behind us, and its events should be historio merely. Present difficulties concerning the colored race should be dealt with by both sections with candor, fairness and mutual forbearance. But what can we all agree to do?

Curiously enough the tactics of politics in 1900 are exactly what they were forty-four years ago, in the Fremont canvass of 1856, when I first began to study them. The probem is: Can the nearly solid North elect a President and a majority in Congress against th solid South and in addition a few Northern States upon which the Democrats will turn all their weapons? And the case is worse now than then: for then there were Representatives and Electors based upon only three-fifths soon to be fifty, based upon the whole five-fifths—increased Southern political power given because the South entered into unsuccessful

The present duty of Republicans is to elect

McKinley and Roosevelt by enormous popular majorities in the Northern, Middle and Western States and by a sufficient majority in the Electoral Colleges; and also to carry the House Republican, if we can, against the forty extra Southern Representatives based upon the colored population, whom we cannot hope to elect because the colored votes are not free and are of no force and effect at the South, but are suppressed by fraud and violence in disobedience of the noble charter of freedom and protection to the suffrage given to the race is the final outcome of the great Civil War. Among all the other questions which are agitating the people in the pending canvass, houghtful and patriotic men, in the North and South alike, may wisely give some reflection to the questions suggested by the recent North Carolina election, where the result has been alsified and changed by mob violence and where freedom of speech has been so far suppressed that a United States Senator supporting Bryan for President is threatened with death if he continues to speak against the nullification of the Fifteenth Amendment of the United States Constitution. When is such sectionalism WILLIAM E. CHANDLER. o end?

CONCORD, N. H., Aug. 8. A Pathetic Inquiry.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SUN-Sir: Could you give some advice as to how to proceed for relief in the ollowing case: A friend of mine has a young wife who is the mother of four of as lovely children as can found anywhere. The wife is fast becoming an inebriate of the worst kind. My friend has tried everything to reclaim her, but without avail. He now wants to have her confined somewhere for a month or two, so that he can bring some moral in fluence to bear in an effort to save her, but is told h lawyers that there is no way she can be restrained xcept by her own consent, which she wont give, and he says "I have to stand quietly by and see the nother of my children become a hopeless drunkar and am powerless to prevent it." Surely, there is some relief for this man. Can you tell what it is and where to look for it. NEW YORK, Aug. 9.

Uncle Sam Accused of Misdemeanor.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SUN-Sir: The Hon Col. Mike Murphy's attention, as well as the attention of his sanitary inspectors, is respectfully called to the fact that the United States Government is persistently violating the Health Board's ordinance, prohibiting the making of soft coal soot and smoke at its public stores, corner of Christopher street and Ninth avenue. Uncle Sam has been violating this ordinance now for pretty nearly one year. HOBOKEN, Aug. 9.

Began With Douglas, but Quits at Bryan.

From the St. Louis Globe Democrat. Judge A. S. Wilderman of St. Clair county is o of the best known lawyers of the southern part of Bilnois. He commenced voting the Democratic ticke for Stephen A. Douglas in 1860. He has been upor the circuit bench. In the years gone he was recog nized as among the ablest of the exceptionally strong coterie of Democrats in this Congressional district Of his present antagonism to the Democratic platform and the Democratic candidate for the Presidency Judge Wilderman makes no concealment. And he gives reasons for his position which will strike home to the minds of thousands of honest Democrats who

"With regard to this cry of imperialism," Judge Wilderman says, "the utter fallacy of that Democratic position is at once exposed when you consider that as consequence of the war with Spain the United States has lifted the shackles of imperialism from perhaps has lifted the shackles of imperialism from perhaps 15,000,000 people. In 1803 this country started on a career of expansion. That was sound now. We have under Democratic piley obtained the whole of the Louisiana purchase, the whole of Florida, the whole of that rast empire, you may call it, which was acquired from Mexico. We afterward settled the boundaries with Great Britain by which we gained other great additions to our territory. I have believed those steps were rightly taken. I believe so now." THE WOMAN AND THE STREET CAR. m. Micografists and Women Tackle

the Great Question. TO THE EDITOR OF THE SUN-Sir: In to day's issue of your newspaper and in its editorial columna, I notice a citation from the Hartford Daily Courant, attempting to explain by a woman's instinctive regard for appearances the fact that she

usually descends backward from a street car. Your evident scepticism of this explanation and desire for further opinions upon the subject prompt me to suggest the following possible explanation of

this well-known peculiarity of the gentler sex. From infancy even until old age, a man's tastes, to not his vocation, prompt him to the use and development of his muscular system and incidentally to the training of the eye in gauging distances, and to an intuitive understanding of his physical capacities by the last is meant what strain his muscles may, with safety, undergo, and what shock his bones may safety withstand). In other words my explanation is

safely withstand). In other words my explanation is a purely physical one.

Any man will concede, if he is about to descend a distance of say four or five feet, the offiake being doubtful, the landing conjectural and he having the means of taking a firm grip with his hands, that instead of jumping forward, where his look before his leap would have left him doubtful of the consequences, he will lower himself backward with some care.

Now, considering a woman's physical inexperience, the fact that she is hampered by cumbersome and profunding garments which render the offiske doubtful, her natural physical weakness (which she knows exists, the extent of which she does not) and the hardness of the pavement which make her landing conjectural, also the fact that two feet from the step of a street car, the popular open one, to the street is proportionately equivalent to four feet, we will say, for a man, what then is the natural conclusion? That she, according to her aforesaid lights, should invariably descend backward.

It strikes me that it is hardly fair that "instinctive conservatism of appearances" should always be rung in as the first explanation of a woman's many unar-

It strikes me that it is hardly fair that "instinctive conservatism of appearances" should always be rung in as the first explanation of a woman's many unexplained differences from the sterner sex. Heaven knows, isn't it bad enough that it may have been proved that some, but by no means all of her sex have been convicted of being controlled by this conservatism? And my admiration for the fair dealing of THE SUN has been increased, if such a thing were indeed possible, by seeing that it will not convict the sex without another hearing, and that its opinion has not been prejudiced by the Haritord Daily Ocurant. NEW YORK, Aug. 5. TO THE EDITOR OF THE SUR-Ser: My wife

the running board, as if to alight correctly, and then reversing her position and facing the rear of the car, she gets her skirts free; whereas, if she stepped off without turning, her skirts might catch on some projection on the car and tear shings.

I think (but don't say) that they do it simply to see who has been sitting back of them. It would take lots of strength of mind not to turn around and see who has been siging up their back hair for several blocks.

WANTA RUEBA.

NEW LONDON, Conn., Aug. 8. TO THE EDITOR OF THE SUN-SER I haden to answer, for, being a woman, I get off the car that way, and I know why. It is an invariable rule, I think, for cars to step at

the farthest crossing. Generally this means that the body of the car is a long way from the pavement adjacent to the street corner—either corner. Suppose a woman is sitting in the front or middle of the car, as she is sure to be if she respects the smokers' rights to the last three seats. Suppose, also, that she desires to go down the side street at which she stopped the car, or wishes to enter a shop near that corner. The chances are ten to one-nay, even sixteen to one-that nature to wish to look at the place to which one to about to go; therefore, when the woman gets off the car she turns backward instinctively in order to judge how far she has been carried by the car beyond

Again, another share of this turning backward business is afforded in muddy weather by the fact that a woman wants to get as soon as possible off the muddy pavement and on to the crossing. As the oar invariably goes beyond the crossing she naturally turns backward so that her eye may aid her in avoiding the mud as much as possible. If she alighted with her face toward the front of the car she would be forced to remain longer in the mud than otherwise—and what's danger of a fall to certainty of getting one's skirrs muddy!

A man is not actuated by any of these motivea. Men do not wear long skirts, and men almost invariably alight from cars before reaching the conner, if they are going down the side street; thus when a man alights and runs a few steps with the car he is really going in the direction he desires to go, whereas woman, compelled by attire and public sentiment, as well as by natural timidity, to wait until the car stops, turns backward in order to save herself from extra walking, or at least from feeling that she must take extra steps. business is afforded in muddy weather by the fact

walking, or at least from feeling that she must take extra steps.

A third reason is found in the fact that if a woman alights on the right hand side of a car, vehicles on the street are liable to be coming in the same direction as the car on the same side of the street. The woman turns back to avoid being run over.

I trust the character of this explanation may excuse its prolixity—some people say that when we women get off even a remark we do it backward.

NEW YORK AUG. 9.

EDITH MINITER.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SUX-Sir: A car to compelled by law to stop just beyond a crossing. If by any misfortune a woman should forget herself so much as to alight from a car with her face turned toward the front, she would have to execute an extra step or two in order to bring her to the street crossing after she has left the car. This, she no doubt argues, can be avoided by simply facing the crossing before alighting. Again, a woman almost invariably uses her left hand in raising her akirt. In so doing she is compelled in alighting to seek support with her right hand, which forces her to get off the car "facing backward."

NEW YORK, Aug. 8. TO THE EDITOR OF THE SUN-Str: The question with which THE SUN winds up its editorial

"How Women Leave Street Cara" is so easily answered that I am surprised it should occasion any dispute.

The reason that a woman gets off a car the wrong way, is that it is the wrong way.

Ngw York, Aug. 9. TO THE EDITOR OF THE SUN-Sir: The question was presented to me some time since very vividiy while going home one night. I observed

that almost invariably they had something in the left hand, thus leaving the right free, and consequently using it to grasp the car handle, thus alighting with the back toward the front of the car. Since that time I have watched them while walking, and I notice that an exceedingly large percentage of them carry parcels, &c., even handkerchiefs or purses, in the left hand, the right being either free or holding the skirts. In carrying bables, it seems that they divide about equally, some carrying them on the left and others on the right, with possibly a greater number on the left. This seems to account for getting off the wrong way. The further reason why the right hand is left free seems to me to be that there is a desire to have the hand whose action is more delicate and accurate ready for any emergency that may

occur.

It may be noticed in passing, that a large number of men carry parcels, &c., in the left hand, but on alighting from cars without exception that I have noticed, they shift them to the right thus, possibly, showing their superior adaptability to environment, as compared with women. As compared with women.

As compared with women.

Might I also occupy a few lines in defence of
Momen? They are often blamed for crowding into the
women? It women ones) in which there

women! They are often blamed for crowding into the only seat of a car (I refer to open ones) in which there are already three, four of five, while the man is credited with the superfortly of forethought in always choosing the one which has fewest occupants. The explanation is simple. A woman, unless she would incur the jeers and grumbling of all those on board the car, must bustle aboard, losing as little time as possible, while a man mounts the side platform and walks leisurely up and down, choosing the seat he likes best.

JAMES HALSTED.

NEW YORK, Aug. 8. NEW YORK, Aug. 8.

is easily answered. Most women are not left-handed.

The left arm is often occupied by a babe, or a parcel, that the right may be freely used.

NEW YORK, Aug. 9.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SUN-SIT: As & woman I might retaliate and ask why a man always waits until the car starts before getting on? For ages woman has been asking men for what she For ages woman has been asking men for what she needed. She has had to ask early and often, she has seldom been sure of having her request granted—even if promised—until the needful was actually in her hand; and it has usually reached her much later than it should have done.

So with the street car conductor. She asks him early and often to let her off at an indicated point, and so many times has she been curried past it in spite of every effort that she invariably looks back after it in leaving the car. A man always gets off exactly opposite or some distance before his goal, so he naturally looks ahead in flighting.

NEWARK, Aug 9.

Where is the courtesy Of Knights to womanhood-that you Should make such inquiry? She is a fair infallible, A ficeting fantasy,

A gleam of sunshine come and gone, A sweet uncertainty. She is a dear intangible. Such as a Creamer sees She is a dream, and don't you know, Dreams go by contraries? Which is why

the #rong foremost -

W. J. I. Unaccountable Omission.

From the Chicago Tribune. "What are you looking so glum about, Borus." The reviewers all praised your last hook, didn't they?"
"Yes, but not one of them said it was a story of in-